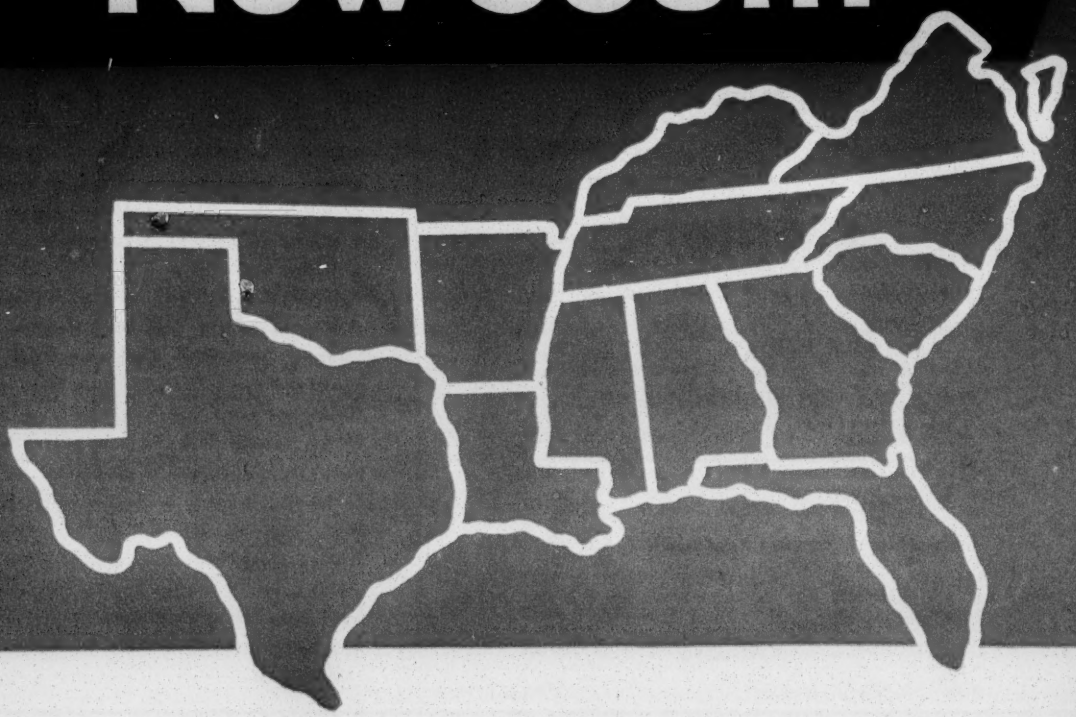
New South



- **Virginians Support Public Schools**
  Paul Rilling
- **Erosion of Liberties**
- **Highlights from Recent Literature**

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New South

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Contents

Virginians Support Public Schools
by Paul Rilling 3

South Is Experiencing Erosion of Liberties 11

Highlights from Recent Literature 13

Crime and Desegregation 14

. . . Unquote 15

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New South Notes

The school crisis continues in most of the deep South states with the chief emphasis now placed on continued public education versus private schools. In a number of places, groups of citizens have banded together in an effort to save the public schools. Virginia, once the leader of massive resistance to desegregation, is one of the states which now boasts a strong movement to retain public schools.

Paul Rilling, Director for Field Activities of the Southern Regional Council, served as Executive Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations until July 1 of this year. In his former role, he was active in the Virginia school controversy and followed Virginia events closely. In this issue of NEW SOUTH, Mr. Rilling traces the growth of the Virginia Committees for Public Schools and gives details of their contribution to continued public education.

While this article was being written, several proponents of massive resistance in Virginia have been soundly defeated in Virginia's primary for State Senate seats.

Two organizations, the Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee, and the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, joined with the Southern Regional Council in documenting the record of racial violence, reprisal, and intimidation in 11 Southern states from January 1955 to January 1959. The news release of this report is included in this issue of NEW SOUTH.

This month's "Highlights from Recent Literature" gives brief accounts of four new books concerning the school crisis.

Virginians Support Public Schools

By PAUL RILLING
Director for Field Activities
Southern Regional Council

In September, 1958, Virginia was the symbolic leader of the defiant South. Governor J. Lindsay Almond had been elected by a large majority on a strict segregationist platform. The Old Dominion was fortified behind a series of laws known as "Massive Resistance." The term was coined by Senator Harry Flood Byrd himself, the leader of America's most genteel and most powerful political machine.

The massive resistance policy was widely supported by the press of the state and by community leadership generally. It seemed to express the sentiments of a considerable majority of the white voters. There was little public opposition. Although massive resistance laws provided for the immediate closure of any schools affected by desegregation orders from federal courts, there was little fear or concern as Virginia approached the school year of 1958-59. Following political habit, the people of the state generally looked to their government and to the Byrd organization to "find a way out."

Then, in September and October of 1958, the people of Virginia were stunned by the actuality of school closures. Invoking massive resistance laws to forestall desegregation, Governor Almond closed nine schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Front Royal. Some 14,000 high school students were locked out of their public schools, to go down in history as "the lost class of 1959."

By February, 1959, all of the closed schools were open again. Desegregation had become a reality in Arlington, Norfolk, and Alexandria. As the unusual school year drew to a close massive resistance had disappeared into history and desegregation had occurred without incident.

Many factors were involved in Virginia's about-face on the school desegregation issue; federal and state court decisions voiding key massive resistance statutes, reactions of parents to school closures, the Governor's determination to avoid a "Little Rock" situation, the firm and effective position of Negro leadership in the state. Most Virginians, however, on both sides of the issue, would agree that the activity of the Committees for Public Schools was a very significant aspect of the situation.

The Committees for Public Schools constitute a political oddity. They sprang up almost overnight, reaching a membership of 25,000 white Virginians. The committees involved few prominent politicians, few persons with high rating in the "power structure" of the state. Yet they were a potent political force in the special session of the General Assembly of the state in April, 1959. Scrupulously neutral on the merits of school desegre-

gation, the committees made a vital contribution to the achievement of orderly desegregation.

James Reston of the *New York Times* has described the Virginia public school committees as the "third force" in the desegregation controversy. Organized on the narrow basis of preserving the public schools of the state the committees provided a channel for the concern and fear of thousands, liberal and conservative alike. Many committee members are segregationists who feel the fate of public schools to be the more important issue. Other members are liberals or "moderates" who find in the school issue a "respectable" outlet for their opposition to massive resistance or their support of desegregation. Through the committees, the voice of Virginia "moderates" are again being openly raised for the first time since 1956.

By the end of July, 1959, there were 25,000 members of the commitees for public schools. Local committees were operating in 15 cities and counties; Alexandria, Arlington, Blacksburg, Charlottesville, Christiansburg, Fairfax-Falls Church, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Newport News and the Peninsula, Radford, Richmond, Rockingham County, Warren County, Washington County, and Waynesboro. Organizing efforts are going forward in some 12 other areas of the state.

Although the public school committees now operate at the state level through the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, the movement began at the local level. The first committees were organized in the four communities facing court orders to desegregate last fall; Arlington, Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Warren County (Front Royal). There was some cross-fertilization of ideas but the committees were founded separately in these areas.

Only one committee was organized in advance of the school closings in Virginia last fall; this was the Arlington Committee to Preserve Public Schools. Arlington is a relatively liberal and cosmopolitan Virginia community. Oriented more toward Washington than Richmond, Arlington is a politically independent area containing many federal employees and a large percentage of people born outside of the state. Arlington was perhaps the only area in Virginia where the local political leaders and public opinion generally were openly opposed to the massive resistance strategies.

A small group of citizens in Arlington began to meet to consider the organization of a public school group in the spring of 1958. On May 1, twenty-three prominent individuals made public the formation of an organizing committee. After considerable advance publicity there was an open, public meeting on June 12 which drew nearly 700 people. From the beginning the Arlington group included persons prominent in the business, civic, and political leadership of the community. Some of the top political figures, including members of the county board and the school board, were open members of the committee.

Following the June meeting the Arlington group was formally organized with officers, by-laws, and an executive board with power to speak and act for the committee. It was decided that the

committee should be neither for nor against school desegregation and that only white persons would be solicited for membership. These policies were followed throughout the development of the committee movement in various parts of the state.

The general approach of the public school committees was well stated in the preamble to the by-laws of the Arlington committee.

"1. We are determined to pursue every legal means to keep public schools open.
2. We are here concerned neither with perpetuating segregation in schools nor in hastening integration.
3. We oppose entrusting public education to private hands having no responsibility or accountability to the general public.
4. We have faith in Arlington's ability to meet its public education problems.
5. We recognize the excellence of the teaching and administrative staff in Arlington schools. We assure them that the community values its educational system and that it is determined to maintain its public schools. We urge Arlington teachers to stand with the community in the days ahead."

Other Groups

There are now 4,500 members of the Arlington committee. Arlington, however, was removed from the immediate threat of school closure when the federal court, early in September, postponed the effective date of desegregation until February, 1959.

The other "original" public school groups, in Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Warren County, did not become active until schools were actually closed in these areas.

The Charlottesville Committee was formed from a nucleus of seven parents who first came together in early September. After seeking the advice of the Arlington Committee, the Charlottesville organizers formally set up their committee after a meeting attended by 200. This was not an openly advertised meeting. By the first of November, there were 1,000 members.

Norfolk Committee

Norfolk was the area hardest hit by the massive resistance laws. More than ten thousand students were locked out of schools in the city. The Norfolk Committee for Public Schools was formally organized on September 16, 1958, after a small committee had met from time to time throughout the summer. The group placed an advertisement in the local newspapers with a return coupon and also conducted a house to house canvas by women volunteers in many parts of the city. The committee achieved a membership of 6,500 by these procedures.

Following the shutdown of Warren County High School, a group of 12 citizens met in Front Royal to consider what action they might take to reopen the school. After meeting in Richmond with representatives of the three committees already in operation, the Warren County Committee was organized at a public meeting attended by 87 persons. There are now 200 members of this group. It should be noted that Warren County is primarily a rural county.

In Charlottesville, Norfolk, and War-

ren County, considerable efforts were made, in advance of final organization, to involve leading business figures and others high in the community power structure. In each case these efforts were initially disappointing. Many of the more prominent citizens were indecisive and reluctant to become involved in controversy. Some gave private support but withheld their names. Only in Arlington, in the beginning, was it found possible to gain this type of leader. By and large leadership for the committees came from PTA members, persons active in such groups as the League of Women Voters, and middle-level businessmen.

Beginning in late October, consultations were held from time to time among representatives of the original committees in Arlington, Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Warren County. At a subsequent meeting on November 8 representatives of the four groups and other individuals from various communities decided to move toward the organization of a state-wide Virginia Committee for Public Schools. Dr. J. L. Blair Buck of Richmond was asked to serve as Temporary Coordinator for the state effort. Widely known in civic and educational circles in Virginia, Dr. Buck served as an official of the Virginia State Department of Education from 1929 until his retirement in 1956.

State Committee

On December 6, seventy-five persons from 15 Virginia cities and counties convened to launch the state committee. A release was given to the press at this time announcing that organization plans were underway. The group adopted as its statement of purpose the following: "We affirm our determined support of free public education for every child in Virginia. We believe that this should continue to be guaranteed by the Constitution of Virginia." An organizing committee was appointed to consider officers and by-laws. Following this meeting, Dr. Buck established a state office in a downtown Richmond office building.

Statement of Principles

The Virginia Committee for Public Schools was in active operation during the months of December and January although formal organization of the group was not completed until February 14. During this period new local committees were formed in Richmond, Alexandria, Fairfax County-Falls Church, Newport News and the Peninsula, and Waynesboro. By-laws were adopted and an executive committee was selected.

In January the Virginia Committee began to receive serious attention from the press throughout the state. Statements issued by the committee and its temporary executive secretary, Dr. Buck, were prominently handled and the press began to call the state office for comment on developments in the school situation. Following a January 7 meeting of the steering committee, this important "Statement of Principles" was made public:

"We believe that a state-wide system of public education is essential to the welfare of Virginia. Our belief rests on the following premises:

"That representative government de-

pends for its success on an educated electorate; that the economic prosperity of Virginia depends upon a high level of educational preparation of the youth of the Commonwealth.

"If the public school system of Virginia is abandoned or allowed to deteriorate, we believe:

"That the cost to parents of private education would prevent the education of large numbers of children;

"That the absence of public education through any prolonged period of time would lead inevitably to widespread discouragement and even demoralization among the children and youth of the State with rising welfare and delinquency problems resulting;

"That drastic dislocations in the economic balance of the State would be caused by movements of population from communities without public schools;

"That new industry will not be attracted to Virginia and existing industries would in some cases withdraw their plants from the State with a resultant loss of employment opportunity for all people of the Commonwealth; and

"That property values would drop, with resulting loss to householders.

"We therefore affirm our determined support of free public education for every child in Virginia. We believe this should continue to be guaranteed by the Constitution of Virginia."

Organization of the Virginia Committee was completed at the February 14 meeting of the executive committee. Dr. Buck was named president of the state group. Elected as vice presidents were Mr. Edmund Campbell, Arlington attorney; Judge H. G. Cochran of Norfolk, Col. Frances Pickens Miller of Charlottesville, and Mr. Knox Turnbull of Charlottesville. The Rev. Eugene Pickett of Richmond was chosen as secretary, and Dr. James R. Sydnor of Richmond as treasurer.

Mr. William M. Lightsey of Arlington was appointed as full-time executive secretary for a three month period. Mr. Lightsey is a retired official of the United States Department of Agriculture. He has held state office in the Parent-Teacher Association and is a former president of the Arlington Committee to Preserve Public Schools. Dr. Buck continued to volunteer his services on a virtually full-time basis.

Four Fields

The public school committees have operated in four primary fields, those of public education, political pressure, organization, and fund raising. Although coordinating much of their activity through the Virginia Committee the local groups have continued to operate as separate entities, both in connection with local problems and in their approach to the state situation.

Extension of the committee movement has been carried both from the state office and by local initiative. Mr. Lightsey, the executive secretary, has devoted a great deal of time to the organization of new areas throughout Virginia. Funds for the state operation were pledged by the local groups, particularly by the stronger, original committees. Several of these groups, particularly the Norfolk Committee, have had major financial commitments at the local level and the state budget has not been raised as

yet.

The Virginia Committee and its local affiliates carried on a continuous and intensive educational and political program from December through April of the 1958-59 school year. Leaders of the state committee met several times with the Governor as did representatives of the Norfolk and Arlington groups. Statements expressing the recommendations of the committee were issued with increasing regularity. Local committees met with their legislative delegations prior to the convening of the special session in January.

On January 19, 1959, massive resistance suffered a double blow when both the federal court and the state Supreme Court of Appeals ruled key massive resistance laws to be inconsistent with the federal and the state constitutions. Governor Almond called the General Assembly into special session to consider how to meet the situation. The legislature met briefly repealed compulsory attendance laws, then recessed and convened again in April to consider the recommendations of a special legislative commission, the "Perrow Commission," appointed by the Governor. Before the interim recess Stratford Junior High School in Arlington had opened for the spring term on a desegregated basis.

Almond Views

Sharply critical of massive resistance and of school closings, the committees seemed to be at odds with the Almond administration during the early months of their existence. After the Governor's address to the legislature on January 28, however, they found themselves on the same side of the fence. On January 28, Governor Almond told the legislature to "face facts." "The time has arrived to take a new, thorough and long look at the situation which confronts us . . .," he added. On January 31, the Virginia Committee commended the Governor for his position, and by February 7 the committee received a letter from the Governor urging that it not relax its efforts in behalf of public education.

During the deliberations of the Perrow Commission in February and March, 1959, and the second meeting of the special session in April, the public school committees comprised the most active group in the situation. A preliminary communication was sent to all members of the Perrow Commission in February, and committee spokesmen were prominent in the public hearings of the commission in Richmond on March 6 .

Plea Made

On this occasion, Dr. Buck asked for new legislation granting local autonomy on the school issue. He also urged enactment of a new compulsory attendance law, adequate safeguards in the disposal of surplus school facilities and preservation of the constitutional guarantee of a state public school system. Similar statements were made by representatives of committees for public schools from Alexandria, Arlington, Blacksburg, Charlottesville, Fairfax-Falls Church, Norfolk, Richmond, and Warren County. Of 66 persons participating in the public hearings, 40 spoke in favor of maintaining public schools, even at the cost of some desegregation.

The Perrow Commission recommended to the General Assembly a new program based on the principle of "freedom of choice." The "Perrow Plan" provides that each local school district may appropriate funds either for public schools or for "educational purposes," or a combination of the two. Funds set aside for "educational purposes" are intended for tuition grants to persons who prefer to attend private schools or public schools in other areas of the state. The Plan also permits local authorities to make school fund allocations on a month-to-month basis if they prefer. The Commission did not suggest changing the Virginia Constitution which requires some minimal public education expenditures at the elementary level. The Governor urged the adoption of the Perrow plan as a realistic program which would be within court interpretation of the federal constitution, would provide local option for each community, and yet would force no one to attend desegregated schools against his will.

A statement on the Perrow Plan was placed on the desk of each legislator by the Virginia Committee for Public Schools as the special session reconvened. Although criticizing minor details of the plan, the committee urged its adoption as the "best plan yet advanced" for meeting the current situation. During the session, committee spokesmen appeared repeatedly before Senate and House committees to support the Perrow Plan and to oppose other bills introduced by the massive resistance group. On at least two occasions the committees organized mail and telegram pressure on legislators. Key members of the General Assembly who were indecisive were repeatedly contacted by local committee members in their home districts.

There was a close division within the General Assembly between the forces supporting the new recommendations of the Governor and the diehard massive resisters. In the Senate, the Perrow Plan carried, on the showdown vote, by just one vote. The Wheatley Resolution, which proposed removing all requirements for public education from the state constitution, was defeated on the floor of the House by a vote of 53 to 45. A number of legislators have privately stated that the influence and activity of the public school committees was a highly significant factor in the final outcome of the voting . The Perrow Plan was adopted and is now Virginia law.

Norfolk Activity

Perhaps the most effective contribution of the committees on the community level occurred in Norfolk where the Committee for Public Schools appeared before the City Council on several occasions. In response to a request from a number of white parents, members of the committee agreed to furnish assistance for a suit by white litigants in federal courts to force the reopening of the schools. The case of James vs. Almond was the case in which the federal court ruled the school closing law to be unconstitutional. Members of the Norfolk Committee assumed the responsibility for raising the $10,000 necessary to finance this court action.

During the recent state-wide primary election for the General Assembly, local committees played a major role in the success of candidates pledged to the public school cause in Norfolk, Richmond,

and several other areas. The Virginia Committee for Public Schools emerged from the election as an established force in the political life of the state.

The executive board of the Virginia Committee is now charting a program for the next six months, through the next session of the General Assembly in January. It is hoped that the executive secretary can be retained during this period on a half-time basis. The program calls for the organization of more local groups, an enlarged total membership, and a stepped-up educational campaign.

The future of the public school committee movement, however, is uncertain. Some members feel that the committees have already played their role and several of the local groups are on a stand-by basis for the summer months. There are signs that with the immediate crisis over, apathy is again setting in, particularly in those communities not faced with an immediate local problem. Widespread citizen, grassroots political activity is a rarity in Virginia and there is the possibility of a return to the normalcy of non-involvement.

Committee leaders hope that the movement will continue to expand and grow. They point to the critical test ahead in this year's state elections and to the need for local groups to fight the abandonment of public schools at the community level.

The leadership of the state committee for Public Schools is now polling its membership and the local committees concerning continued support for the the next six months. The response during July and August will determine the future of the Virginia Committee movement.

Moderates Mobilized

The record of the committees for public schools in Virginia during the critical school year of 1958-59 shows that the Southerner who is neutral or moderate on the race issue can be mobilized on related issues. It also demonstrates that there is a deep loyalty to the principles of public education in the South. In the case of a final choice between desegregated schools or no public schools many segregationists will choose the cause of public education if given an opportunity.

The experience of Virginia also proves the value of time. Public schools groups organized and active before the final crisis can be considerably more effective than those hastily organized during the crisis situation. As Mr. Lightsey, executive secretary of the Virginia Committee, has stated, "Disaster can follow in any community which fails, *before the crisis*, to organize a strong group of citizens who realize the damaging results of closed public schools."

The South has learned much from the tragedy of Little Rock, from the spectacle of schools closing in Virginia. It may be that the experiences of the public school committee movement in Virginia will be of great value to many concerned Southerners as the education crisis spreads—to Georgia, to Florida, and throughout the South next year and in the years to come.

South Is Experiencing Erosion of Liberties

In the past four years, the South has experienced widespread erosion of individual liberties, a report released recently asserted.

It listed 530 specific cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation in the 11 Southern states during the four-year period from January 1, 1955, to January 1, 1959.

The report was issued jointly by the Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council.

The cases were drawn from the general press of the nation and in large part from Southern newspapers. The list was confined to occurrences attributable to the increased racial tensions of the past few years. Crimes which are part of other continuing social and legal problems were not used.

The sponsoring agencies emphasized that while the report dealt only with the angry, violent reactions to the desegregation decisions, another account could be given of patience, responsibility, courage and good will by both whites and Negroes.

However, it was added, "We feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record—dangers for which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility."

The record, cited as evidence of the deterioration of law and order in the South since the 1954-55 school desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, includes:

- 6 Negroes killed;
- 29 individuals, 11 of them white, shot and wounded in racial incidents;
- 44 persons beaten;
- 5 stabbed;
- 1 Negro emasculated;
- 30 bombings of houses (in one of these incidents, at Clinton, Tenn., 30 homes were damaged by a single blast); attempted blasting of 5 other homes;
- 15 homes struck by gunfire and 7 homes stoned;
- 4 schools bombed, in Jacksonville, Nashville, Chattanooga and Clinton, Tennessee;
- 2 conspiracies to bomb schools, in Charlotte and Clinton;
- 7 churches bombed, one of which was for whites; an attempt made to bomb another church;
- 1 church burned, in Memphis, and another church stoned;
- 4 synagogues or Jewish centers bombed, in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville and Atlanta;
- 3 bombing attempts on Jewish buildings in Gastonia, N. C., Birmingham, and Charlotte.

Erosion

(Continued)

1 YWCA building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville dynamited;

2 schools burned.

Also, at least 17 towns and cities in the South were threatened in varying degree by mob action.

In all, the violence section of the report listed 225 acts against individual liberties and public peace. Included were the widely publicized incidents involving the appearance of Negroes at formerly white schools and colleges—the stories of Little Rock; the University of Alabama; Hoxie, Ark.; Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield, Texas. Here, too, the Klan-Indian fight at Maxton, N. C., and the multiple attacks on Koinonia Farm in Georgia were recounted.

The section dealing with reprisals covered 95 cases. It was pointed out that this figure, as well as the overall total of 530 cases, could not tell the whole story, for some of the instances counted as a single item involved hundreds of men and women. For example, listed as one item were the voting purges of Louisiana, where names of thousands of Negroes were removed from registration lists.

Also, city-wide protest movements were counted as units. These include the stories of bus boycott in Montgomery; economic protest movements in Tallahassee; Tuskegee, Ala., and Orangeburg and Rock Hill, S. C.

Economic Reprisals

On a more widespread practice, the report commented:

"Some Southerners since 1954 have elaborated and organized the methods of economic reprisal until a recognizably new and modern instrument has taken form. Most commonly associated with the White Citizens Council, the weapon of reprisal has deprived Negroes and non-conforming whites of jobs, of credit, of supplies for their businesses."

The 210 instances of intimidation include mail and telephone threats, and at least some of the rash of bomb scares, Klan meetings and cross burnings. They range also from the arrest of Negro ministers in Alabama to police detention of a white Methodist minister who lectured on peaceful means to attain civil rights. Negroes seeking their rights under law and some white persons who have voiced their support of this move for legal equality; churches; ministers, priests and rabbis; Negroes who have bought homes in predominantly white neighborhoods — all were among the victims.

The report said that while there have been men and women across the South who have expressed anger and disapproval over the intimidation, "too many of them since 1954 have acquiesced."

The full report, INTIMIDATION, REPRISAL, AND VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS, may be purchased from the Southern Regional Council, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, at 40 cents per single copy, 35 cents per copy for quantities of 50 or more.

Highlights from Recent Literature

Giles, H. Harry. "THE INTEGRATED CLASSROOM." Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1959. 338 pp., $5.00.

From the fly leaf:

"Turning the weapons of social science on the problem of integrating within the classroom varying racial, religious, national, and socio-economic groups, the author analyzes the nature of the social conflict and provides concrete examples of how it is being handled today around the nation."

An observation from Erwin Knoll's Washington *Post* review may be useful to the prospective reader: "H. Harry Giles had the making of a useful 100 page manual for teachers who work in integrated schools. He added 230 pages of sketchy history and oversimplified analysis and came up with a disappointing book. The manual is still there, tucked away in chapters 12 through 15. It deserves high praise." Unfortunately, Mr. Giles' book contains occasional inaccuracies and statistical errors.

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Blossom, Virgil T. "IT HAS HAPPENED HERE." Harper & Bros., New York, 1959. 209 pp., $2.95.

In an account of the Little Rock school tragedy, from a mid-center perspective point, the former Superintendent of schools in that city pins primary blame on: (1) the political ambitions of Governor Orval E. Faubus; (2) the Department of Justice, which "did nothing constructive;" and (3) a few men, "not necessarily either segregationists or integrationists, but opportunists interested in increasing their power."

In the aftermath of their action—or inaction—Mr. Blossom states that there has been a complete disruption of the school system, a halt in the city's industrial boom, and communication between races has given way to bitterness and suspicion.

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Savage, Henry, Jr. "SEEDS OF TIME." Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1959. 312 pp., $4.50.

This inquiry into the South's political, economic, and social history came into being, the author tells us, "in the hope that it might play some part in helping the South solve its problems by giving both Southerners and outsiders a more rational picture of the South and its peculiarities and the historical bases of those peculiarities, that they may not appear so sacred to Southerners or so quixotic and silly to outsiders." Mr. Savage, a native and long time resident of Camden, S. C., continues: "I have set down . . . in this book, the conditions, events, and developments that have formed the background of Southern thinking, to show its inevitable evolvement through pride, yes, but more through circumstance." In his closing chapter the author calls for "broader realism" from Southerners, for, among other reasons, "there is not the remotest chance of undoing decisions of the Supreme Court on racial discrimination. . . . The most chimerical of all hopes

Highlights

(Continued)

through which Southerners have deceived themselves into the belief that their problems will somehow go away is the hope that Congress can be persuaded to undo the Court's decision. . . . Inexorable economic forces are compelling the South to face its problems and take positive action."

• • •

Hays, Brooks. "SOUTHERN MODERATE SPEAKS." University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959. 231 pp., $3.50.

Only in part concerned with "The Little Rock Story" former Congressman Hay's book is also, in Ralph McGill's words, "the expression of a man to whom his Christian conviction means a great deal . . . the expression of a conciliator, not a fighter or crusader."

Mr. Hays concludes with a plea for "the re-evaluation of our faith, the redefining of goals, and the new resolutions, which we as a free people must form to acquire the strength for resisting those who put their confidence in materialism and power." "Else," he writes, "we will lose the world conflict and all the human rights we so dearly cherish."

Crime and Segregation

From Washington Post and Times Herald

The District Welfare Department's report on juvenile delinquency comes as a quiet anticlimax to the charges that integrated schools in Washington are spawning crime. According to the Department, delinquency among Negro youths has fallen off sharply from 1954 to 1958—the period in which the local schools were desegregated. Statistically, the rate dropped from 37.1 per 1,000 children to 21.2, while delinquency rates remained stable among white children during the same period.

It would be a too simple generalization to attribute this salutary drop solely to the change in the school system; palpably, as Welfare Director Shea points out, the work of the Youth Council, area boards and the youth division of the Police Department have contributed to this decline. Yet it is also reckless generalization to blame any juvenile crime that does persist on the integrated schools. This seems to be the argument made by several Southern newspapers, and it is clearly implied in statements made by Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga.) after his "objective" investigation of the schools.

Whenever distressing news about Washington juveniles is brought to light, Mr. Davis and his henchmen are the first to trumpet the tidings to the South. We trust that Mr. Davis will show equal zeal in telling about this wholesome and encouraging trend as well.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"The second point in Virginia's industrial development program should be a prompt and sound solution to the school situation based on the principle that excellent free public schools will be maintained."

John P. Fishwick, Vice-President
Norfolk and Western Railway
Quoted by United Press International

• • •

"The Babcock and Wilcox Company, as one of the new and growing organizations in the community, considers it obvious that we would have trouble securing and retaining qualified technical personnel if the public schools were closed."

John W. Landis, Assistant Manager
The Babcock and Wilcox Co.
Lynchburg, Virginia

• • •

"No mistake could be more costly than to succumb to the blandishments of those who would have Virginia abandon public education and thereby consign a generation of children to the darkness of illiteracy—dungeons of illiteracy . . . We must save public education in Virginia. I call upon all Virginians who believe in the soundness and righteousness of that position to rally to my support before it is too late. To be forewarned is to be forearmed."

Governor J. Lindsay Almond
of Virginia
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

"The University Medical Center, being within the community of Little Rock, could not help but be affected by the public school problem there. I think it would be only fair to say that because of this complicating social change, the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

Dr. F. Douglas Lawrason,
Provost for Medical Affairs,
University of Arkansas
Quoted in *Arkansas Gazette*

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"Without it [the public school] we cannot attract highly trained engineering and managerial talent, for such people can obtain positions anywhere in the United States. They simply will not join us unless their children can obtain as good or better education here as elsewhere. Not only that, but the individuals who are already with us might very well leave if good education opportunities do not continue to be available for them and their children."

Dr. Louis T. Rader, General Mgr.
Special Control Dept.,
General Electric
In speech at Thomas Jefferson
High School, Richmond, Va.